

Dīn, the author of the *Maqāmat*, with whom he exchanged letters in verse. Of these some graceful specimens are given by Zhukovski (pp. 34-37), including the well-known verse:—

"This grasshopper's foot to the Court of Sulaymán  
It shames me to send, and I ask for his pardon;  
I fear to imagine the scorn of the basils  
For this thorn of acanthus I send to their garden."

Amongst the poets he seems, according to the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* and the *Haft Iqlm*, to have especially admired and imitated Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, who was a native of Lahore and the panegyrist of the Kings of Ghazna, and whose death took place not earlier than A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1099). The princes, rulers, and men of note most frequently mentioned by Anwarī include Sulṭān Sanjar, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ṭāhir b. Fakhrū'l-Mulk, the grandson of the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Sulṭān Ṭughril-tigīn, 'Imādu'd-Dīn Ffrūzshāh, the Governor of Balkh, *Khawāja-i-jahān* Majdu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Imrānī, Sayyid Abū Ṭālib, and the above-mentioned Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn. Zhukovski concludes this chapter with a discussion of Anwarī's different styles, as exemplified in the *qaṣida*, the *ghazal*, the quatrain, the satire, and the fragment; a selection of his verses illustrating the contempt which he felt for the art of poetry; and the metrical criticisms composed by Majdu'd-Dīn Hamgar, Imāmī<sup>1</sup> and another poet in reply to a question propounded to them as to the respective merits of Anwarī and Dhahīr of Fāryāb, whereof it need only be said that all agree in preferring the former to the latter.

The third chapter of Zhukovski's book discusses the difficulty of Anwarī's verse and the aids for its comprehension, especially two commentaries thereon by Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd-

<sup>1</sup> The texts of these two poems, with English translations, are given on pp. 60-64 of the *tirage-à-part* of my *Biographies of the Persian Poets from the Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*. Majdu'd-Dīn gives the date of his poem as Rajab, A.H. 674 (= January, A.D. 1276).

i-'Alawī of Shādābād (who also commentated Khāqānī's poems), and Abu'l-Ḥasan Farāhānī, who flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Of the latter, who used oral as well as written sources (whereof sixty-eight different works are enumerated), Zhukovski expresses a very high opinion.

The fourth and last chapter, which deals with Anwarī's style and language, and with the various European contributions to our knowledge of his work, does not appear to me to need any special remark.

It is now time for us to leave Anwarī, and turn to the consideration of Khāqānī, a poet notorious for the difficulty and obscurity of his verse, which, like that of Anwarī, chiefly consists of *qaṣidas*, though he has one long *mathnawī* poem, the *Tuhfatu'l-'Irdqayn*, or "Gift of the two 'Iraqs," which describes his pilgrimage to Mecca, and supplies us with a good deal of material for his biography. Here again we have an excellent monograph to guide us, the *Mémoire sur Khāqānī, poète persan du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, published both in the *Journal Asiatique* and as a separate reprint (the form in which alone I here cite it) in 1864-65 by Monsieur N. de Khanikof, who truly observes that this poet, "one of the most brilliant figures of the Persian Parnassus," has transmitted to us an exact portrait of several intimate scenes of the life of his epoch.

From a verse in his celebrated ode to Iṣfahān, it appears that Afḍalu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī of Shirwān, originally known as Ḥaqā'iqī but later as Khāqānī, was born in A.H. 500 (= A.D. 1106-7), at Ganja, the modern Elizavetpol.<sup>1</sup> His father 'Alī was a carpenter, and his mother a Nestorian Christian converted to Islām (*Tuhfa*, p. 199, l. 6), who appears to have been a cook by profession. His grandfather, as he informs us

<sup>1</sup> So says Khanikof, but Khāqānī's own statement in the *Tuhfatu'l-'Irdqayn* (lithographed edition of A.D. 1877), p. 35, would seem to imply that he was born at Shirwān.

(*Tuhfa*, p. 189, l. 9) with his usual frank prolixity, was a weaver, while his paternal uncle, Mīrzā Kāfī b. 'Uthmān, to whom he chiefly owed his education, was a medical practitioner. At an early age he was left, whether by the desertion or the death of his father, entirely to the care of his uncle, who for seven years acted "both as nurse and tutor," and taught him, beyond the rudiments of learning, Arabic, Medicine, Astronomy, and Metaphysics, but not, as we learn, without tears, for his relative, though actuated by the most kindly motives, was, after the fashion of his time and country, little disposed to spoil the child by sparing the rod. When Khāqānī was twenty-five years of age his uncle died, being then only in his fortieth year, and thereupon the poet's general education came to an end.

His skill in the art of verse-making, however, he owed to another tutor, to wit, the old poet Abu'l-'Alā of Ganja, one of the Court-poets of Minúchihir Shirwānshāh, to whom in due course he presented his brilliant pupil, who received permission to change his pen-name from Ḥaqā'iqī to the more royal style and title of Khāqānī. He also gave Khāqānī his daughter in marriage, a mark of favour which caused some annoyance to another of his pupils, the young poet Falakī of Shirwān, who was, however, finally pacified by a gift of 20,000 *dirhams*, "the price," as Abu'l-'Alā remarked, "of fifty Turkish handmaidens infinitely more beautiful than" Khāqānī's bride. Shortly after this, however, Abu'l-'Alā, being annoyed, apparently, at certain signs of growing arrogance on Khāqānī's part, addressed to him the following insulting verse :—

Abu'l-'Alā of  
Ganja.

"My dear Khāqānī, skilful though you be  
In verse, one little hint I give you free:  
Mock not with satire any older poet;  
Perhaps he is your sire, though you don't know it!"

\* Khanikof very appositely compares the following verse of Heine's in the *Tambour-major* :—

Khāqānī, furious, demanded explanations and apologies, whereupon Abu'l-'Alā renewed his attack in the following lines :—

"O Afḍalu'd-Dīn, if the truth I should tell thee,  
By thy soul, with thy conduct I'm terribly pained;  
They called thee in Shirwān 'the son of the joiner,'  
The name of Khāqānī through me hast thou gained.  
Much good have I wrought thee, I trained thee and taught  
thee,  
Enriched thee, and gave thee my daughter to wife:  
Why wilt thou neglect me, and fail to respect me,  
Who called thee my Master, my son, and my Life?  
How often this slander wilt lay to my credit—  
Black slander, of which I no memory keep?  
What matter if I or another one said it?  
What matter if thou wert awake or asleep?"

To this Khāqānī replied with a satire of inconceivable coarseness, for which Khanikof, who publishes it with a translation (pp. 16–22), offers an apology, reminding his readers that "it is a cry of anger uttered by a Persian of the twelfth century, an epoch at which, even in Europe, language was not always remarkably chaste." Not content with accusing his former friend and master of the vilest crimes, Khāqānī does not hesitate to bring against him a charge incomparably more dangerous than any suspicion of moral delinquency, declaring roundly that he is a follower of Ḥasan-i-Sabbāh and a confederate of the Assassins of Alamūt. Khanikof is of opinion that this satire was composed, for reasons into which he fully enters, between A.H. 532 and 540 (A.D. 1138–46), and that it was about this time that

"Du solltest mit Pietät, mich dünkt,  
Behandeln solche Leute;  
Der Alte ist dein Vater, vielleicht,  
Von mütterlicher Seite."

\* See Khanikof, p. 15; Dawlatshāh, pp. 70–71 of my edition; and a very different version in my *Biographies of Persian Poets from the Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, pp. 21–22.

"Since I have not permission to proceed to Khurásán  
I will even turn back; I will not endure the affliction of Ray.  
If leave be granted me to go back to Tabríz,  
I will give thanks for the favour of the King of Ray."

He seems to have imagined that in Khurásán he would meet with greater appreciation, for he says in a verse from the *qaṣida* cited above:—

*Chūn zi man ahl-i-Khurásán hama 'anqá binand,  
Man Sulaymán-i-jahán-bán bi-Khurásán yábam.*

"Since the people of Khurásán see in me a complete phoenix  
(*'anqá*),  
I may find in Khurásán the Solomon who rules the world."

The last reference is evidently to Sanjar, who is, indeed, explicitly mentioned a little further on; and this poem was evidently written before the disastrous invasion of the Ghuzz (A.D. 1154), one of the victims of which, as already mentioned, was the learned and pious doctor Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá, with whom Kháqání corresponded during his life,<sup>1</sup> and whom he mourned in several fine verses after his violent and cruel death.<sup>2</sup> That he was also in relation with the Court of Khwárazm is proved by several panegyrics addressed to Khwárazmsháh, and a laudatory poem (*loc. cit.*, pp. 469–472) on his laureate Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát, who had sent Kháqání some complimentary verses. But after the death of Sanjar and the desolation wrought by the Ghuzz it is unlikely that Kháqání any longer cherished the desire of visiting Khurásán.

Of Kháqání's second pilgrimage, as already remarked, we possess a singularly full account in the rather prosaic *Tuhfatu'l-'Irdáqayn*, of which a lithographed edition was published in

<sup>1</sup> At pp. 1532–1536 of the Lucknow edition of the *Kulliyát* will be found, amongst Kháqání's Arabic compositions, a prose epistle and a poem addressed to this great doctor.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Kulliyát*, pp. 587, 877, and 878.

Lucknow in A.H. 1294. This poem is divided into five *maqálas*, or discourses, of which the first consists chiefly of doxologies, the second is for the most part autobiographical, the third describes Hamadán, 'Iráq, and Baghdád, the fourth Mecca, and the fifth and last al-Madína. Khanikof has given (pp. 37–41) some account of the contents (including a list of the persons mentioned), which, therefore, I will not further describe. Besides the *Tuhfat*, several of Kháqání's finest *qaṣidas* were inspired by this journey, including one, justly admired, which begins (*Kulliyát*, pp. 319–321):—

*Sar-ḥadd-i-bádiya 'st: rawán bāsh bar sar-ash;  
Tiryák-i-rúḥ kun zi sumúm-i-mu'aṭṭar-ash!*

"Here are the confines of the Desert: advance upon it;  
And draw from its fragrant breeze healing for the spirit!"

It was on his return from the pilgrimage that Kháqání visited Işfahán, where a mischance befell him very similar to that which befell Anwarí at Balkh. He was at first well received, but a satirical verse on the people of Işfahán, composed by his pupil, Mujíru'd-Dín of Baylaqán, somewhat injured his popularity, and called forth from the Işfahání poet, Jamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, a most abusive reply.<sup>1</sup> In order to exculpate himself from his pupil's indiscretion and restore the Işfahánis to good humour, Kháqání composed a long and celebrated *qaṣida* in praise of that city, in the course of which he says, after describing the tributes of praise which he had already paid it:—

"All this I did without hope of recompense, not for greed,  
Nor hoping to receive crown or gold from the bounty of  
Işfahán.

That stone-smitten (*rajím*\*) devil who stole my eloquence

<sup>1</sup> For these verses see pp. 41–42 of Khanikof's *Mémoire*.

<sup>2</sup> For the text and translation of this *qaṣida*, see Khanikof, pp. 93–108, and for these verses the bottom of p. 97 and top of p. 98. *Rajím*, a common epithet of the devil, is an anagram of *Mujír*, to whom allusion is here made.

Rebelle'd against me if he dared to satirize Işfahán.  
 He will not rise with a white face in the Resurrection,  
 Because he strove to blacken the neck of Işfahán.  
 Why do the people of Işfahán speak ill of me?  
 What fault have I committed in respect to Işfahán?"

This poem, as internal evidence proves, was composed after A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156-57), probably, as Khanikof conjectures, in the following year.

On his return to Shirwán shortly after this, Kháqání, whether on account of his greatly increased self-esteem (a quality in which he was at no time deficient), or because he was accused by his detractors of seeking another patron, incurred the displeasure of Akhtisán Shirwánsháh, and was by him imprisoned in the fortress of Shábírán, where he wrote his celebrated *habsiyya*, or "prison-poem," given by Khanikof at pp. 113-128 of his *Mémoire*. As to the length of his imprisonment and his subsequent adventures until his death at Tabríz in A.H. 582 (= A.D. 1185)<sup>1</sup> we have but scanty information, but we learn from his poems that he survived his patron Akhtisán, and that he lost his wife and one of his sons named Rashíd, a child not ten years of age. Concerning the elegy in which he bewailed the loss of his wife, Khanikof speaks (p. 49) as follows:—

"Of all Kháqání's poems this is, in my opinion, perhaps the only one wherein he appears as one likes to imagine him, that is to say, as a good and sensible man. Grief causes him to forget his erudition; his verse does not glitter with expressions hard to interpret or grammatical artifices, but goes straight to the heart of the reader, and interests him in a domestic misfortune from which seven centuries separate us."

Kháqání was buried in the "Poets' Corner" at Surkháb,

<sup>1</sup> This date is given both in 'Awfí's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* and the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzída*, and also by Dawlatsháh. For other dates, ranging up to A.H. 595 (= A.D. 1198-99), see Khanikof's *Mémoire*, p. 55. Khanikof observes that as Akhtisán was alive in A.H. 583, and as Kháqání survived him, the later dates are preferable.

near Tabríz, between Dhahíru'd-Dín Faryábl and Sháhífur-i-Ashharí, and in 1855 Khanikof was informed by two old men of Tabríz that they remembered his tomb as still standing before the great earthquake which laid most of the monuments of this cemetery in ruins. Excavations which he instituted in the following year failed, however, to produce any sign of it. Amongst the men of letters with whom Kháqání corresponded, besides those already mentioned, were the philosopher Afđalu'd-Dín of Sáwa and the poet Athíru'd-Dín of Akhsíkat. Other poets whom he mentions, generally in order to boast his superiority over them, are Mu'izzí (p. 702), al-Jáhidh (*Ibid.*, but the lithographed text absurdly reads Háfídh, and reiterates this gross anachronism in a marginal note thoroughly characteristic of Indian criticism), Abú Rashíd and 'Abdak of Shirwán (p. 703), Qatrán of Tabríz (p. 759), Saná'í of Ghazna (p. 795), 'Unşurí and Rúdagí (p. 799).

Like Anwarí, Kháqání is essentially a *qaşıda*-writer, and it is on this form of verse that his reputation rests, though he also has a complete *Diwán* of odes, a large number of quatrains, and the *mathnawí* already mentioned, viz., the *Tuhfatu'l-'Irdáqayn*, besides some poems in Arabic. His style is generally obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic. The comparison instituted by von Hammer between him and Pindar is fully discussed and criticised by Khanikof at pp. 61-64 of his *Mémoire*. Kháqání's poems are voluminous, filling 1,582 large pages in the Lucknow lithographed edition. In one very curious *qaşıda* published by Khanikof (*Mémoire*, pp. 71-80; *Kulliyýát*, pp. 271-278) he makes display of all his knowledge of the Christian religion and ritual, and even proposes (though he afterwards asks God's forgiveness for the proposal) to enter the service of the Byzantine Emperor, embrace the Christian faith, and even, should the Qaysar (Cæsar) so please, "revive the creed of Zoroaster."

Let us now turn to Nidhámí of Ganja, the third great poet